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EQUALITY LAND AND FREEDOM



A PROGRAM FOR NEGRO LIBERATION

PUBLISHED BY

LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS
2162 SEVENTH AVE
NEW YORK CITY

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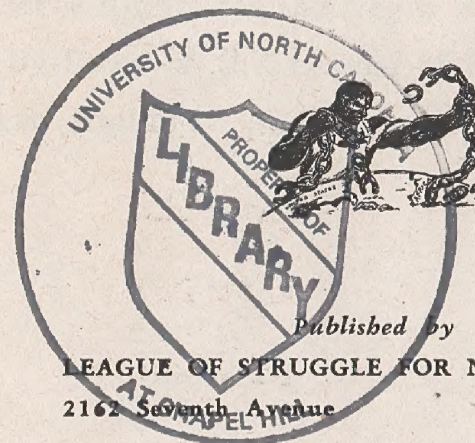
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EQUALITY LAND and FREEDOM

A PROGRAM FOR NEGRO LIBERATION

(Draft submitted by the National Council
of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights)



November, 1933

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Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword	5
Draft Program of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights	7
Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro People . . .	27
Draft By-Laws of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights	33

Foreword

This pamphlet includes drafts of (1) The Program of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights; (2) The Bill of Rights, to be again presented to Congress and the President; and (3) The Constitution and By-Laws of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

These documents are herewith being presented for consideration and discussion to all organizations, groups and persons, whether they be white or Negro, interested in the liberation of the Negro people.

We call upon all interested individuals to introduce these drafts for discussion at a meeting of their union, fraternal organization, club, church congregation, etc. Results of this discussion, suggested changes in the drafts, criticisms and remarks, as well as individual opinions, should be sent to the National Council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. **The Liberator**, the official organ of the L.S.N.R., will throw its columns open for such discussion.

The next National Convention of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights will finally pass upon these documents, taking all suggestions into consideration.

In the meantime, the organization of L.S.N.R. groups and the affiliations of organizations are to proceed on the basis of the Program and Constitution herein contained.

We are confident that the Program here presented points the way to the real liberation of the Negro masses; that it offers the basis upon which all sincere fighters for Negro freedom can find common ground.

Join the League of Struggle for Negro Rights!

Affiliate Your Organizations!

National Council, League of
Struggle for Negro Rights
2162 Seventh Ave., N. Y. C.

Draft Program of The League of Struggle for Negro Rights

PREAMBLE

For three hundred years the American Negroes have been enslaved. The same blow which struck the shackles of chattel slavery from them hammered on the chains of a new slavery. After three-quarters of a century of supposed freedom the Negro people must still fight for that liberty which should rightly have been theirs after the Civil War.

Today they again stand on the field of battle. They face the alternative: either a determined fight for freedom, or submission to further enslavement, degradation and poverty.

Squarely facing this issue, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights comes forward with a program for the liberation of the Negro people based upon the experiences and traditions of three centuries of struggle against slavery and oppression.

We proclaim before the whole world that the American Negroes are a nation—a nation striving to manhood but whose growth is violently retarded and which is viciously oppressed by American imperialism. The program here presented outlines the only course of action which guarantees the development of the American Negroes to full nationhood, which will elevate them to that rightful place of

equality before all and subservience before none.

Land, freedom and equality—the watchword of the ex-slave during the period of Civil War and Reconstruction—still remains the watchword of the embattled Negroes today. The so-called emancipation of the slaves did not bring freedom, because without the means of livelihood, without land, there could be no freedom.

The ex-slaves fought heroically during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period for the land, for citizenship, for equal rights. The Northern Republicans took the Negroes as allies against the slave-owners, and supported their demands only because they needed the help of the Negro people in order to defeat the slavocracy decisively. When the domination of the South had been assured to the Northern capitalists, they cast their Negro ally aside and deserted him to the tender mercies of the K.K.K. and his former masters. The Proclamation of Emancipation and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were but pieces of paper. The plantation system with all its horrors—share-cropping, peonage, chain gangs, convict labor—was the new freedom of the Negro after the Civil War.

That glorious Civil War decade when the embattled Negro fought with gun in hand against the bloodhounds of reaction for the rights of citizenship and for land, and enjoyed these rights for a time, shall always remain an heroic, revolutionary and living example firing the aspirations of the Negro people for freedom.

Today nine and a half million Negroes still live

in the prison of the South, stifled by oppression, cut off from even a breath of freedom. The chains which bind the Negroes as serfs upon the plantations of the Southern Black Belt stretch out like arms of an octopus to enslave the Negro no matter in what part of the country he has sought refuge.

When the Negroes entered upon their mass exodus from the South, they hoped to find that liberty so long denied them. Northern capitalists, however, sought out for them the meanest and lowest place in industry. The Negro worker found that the exploiters of labor did not intend to permit him to rise to a plane of equality with his white fellow-worker. Instead, all the tricks at the disposal of the white ruling class were used to force the Negro into a lower position, to create antagonism and hatred between him and his fellow white workers.

The stifling lynch atmosphere of the South hangs like a cloud over the whole country. Crowded into segregated residential districts, restricted in their social, political and economic activities, insulted at every turn, burdened with a double weight of exploitation and oppression, the Negro masses in the North find that the liberty they have sought remains an illusion. The half-slave conditions in the Southern Black Belt continue to set the pattern for the economic and social oppression of the Negroes in the North as well.

The destruction of the plantation system in the South, the division of the land among the Negro farmers, among the croppers and tenants, would destroy the most important material basis, the basis for the oppression of the Negro people in the United

States. It would, at the same time, spring the whole system which dictates inequality for the Negro in all walks of life, which condemns him to live a segregated, jim-crowed existence.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore demands the confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords and capitalists in the South and its distribution among the Negroes and white small farmers and share-croppers.

These plantations are concentrated in what is known as the Black Belt—that continuous territory stretching from the eastern shore of Maryland through the southeastern corner of Virginia, cutting a strip through North Carolina and comprising practically the whole state of South Carolina, passing through central Georgia and southern Alabama, engulfing Mississippi and the delta regions of Louisiana and Arkansas, including the southwestern tip of Tennessee, and driving a wedge into Texas.

On this continuous strip of land the Negro people form the majority of the population. In fact, from the time of the earliest settlement of this land the Negroes were in the majority. They tilled its soil, created the first large cotton plantations. They till its soil today. This is the homeland of the American Negro people, comprising some 350 counties, cutting across existing state borders. This is the soil upon which the historic battles for freedom took place seventy years ago, where these battles have been re-joined by the heroic Negro share-croppers of Elaine, Arkansas, in 1919, and of Tallapoosa County, Alabama, in 1931 and 1933. This is the breeding ground of lynching and of the vilest degradation of

the Negro people. It is from this soil that there arose the giant structure of the Scottsboro Case, broadcasting to the whole world the stirring cry for freedom.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights declares that the territorial unity of this continuous stretch of land must be proclaimed and established. It declares that upon this territory must arise that political state over which the Negro majority will have governmental authority.

The Negro nation cannot be free as a people until they have complete right to set up their own government.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights stands for the complete right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt with full rights for the toiling white minority.

This means that the territory now known as the Black Belt, described above, be recognized as a distinct political unit, regardless of the state borders which at present cut across this territory. It means that the Negro majority have governmental and administrative control and authority over this entire territory, with the right to set up its own governmental and judicial institutions, to elect its own officials, to make laws, to set taxes, to dispose of public property, to organize its own armed forces for the protection of these rights. It means the disbanding and removal of the armed forces, civil and military, of the white ruling class exploiters in the Black Belt territory. It means a decisive struggle against the whole ruling class machinery, in and

out of the Black Belt, which has held the Negro people in a vise of iron.

And finally, the right of self-determination means that the Negro people in the Black Belt have the right to choose freely for or against complete separation from the federal government, no matter what its form, in existence at that time in the United States.

Only in this way can that struggle for freedom started but left unfulfilled by the Civil War reach its final fruition. Only in the achievement of this end can the Negro people be liberated from the backwardness, poverty and endless suffering which is crushing them down. Only in this way will they finally succeed in rising to their feet, attaining the full stature of a free and independent nation before whom stretches a vista of rich and full development.

To realize this program the Negro masses must disown the dallying, hesitant, grovelling methods of those who have been in the past and are today hailed by the powers-that-be as the leaders of the race. Booker T. Washington, who has been followed by a whole line of betrayers of the best interests of the Negro people, can be no source of inspiration for the tremendous tasks that face the people today. His scraping before the ante-rooms of the mighty is faithfully aped today by the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Whites, the Duboises, the Pickenses, by his disciples at Tuskegee and the other Negro higher institutions of learning. The effort of the present-day "leaders of the race" to chain the Negro people to the chariot of American imperial-

ism, to perpetuate and build further the distrust and antagonism towards the white workers of the country, must be smashed.

The Negro people must seek their inspiration in the best traditions of the revolutionary struggle for liberation. This lies in that tradition given content by Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and the untold thousands of fighters in the numerous slave revolts, in the underground railroad and in the struggles of the Civil War period. In other parts of the world—in the traditions of the Haitian Revolution, in that of the Maroons of Jamaica, in the victorious insurrectionists of Dutch Guinea, and in the recent and present struggles of oppressed peoples throughout the world against imperialist oppression.

This tradition bears the rich lesson that final victory can only be won in a struggle that brooks no treacherous compromise with the ruling class, that does not halt at half-way measures, but pushes ahead from one victory to the next until the final aim is accomplished.

"It is the proud boast of my life," declared Isaac Meyers, a Negro labor leader, in addressing a national convention of white workers, immediately after the Civil War, "that the slave himself had a share in striking off the one end of the fetters that bound him by the ankle, and the other end that bound you by the neck."

These words apply with equal force today. When these words were uttered the Northern capitalists were already hatching their betrayal of the Negro

people. Today a new class has arisen to assume command of the march of history. That class is the working class. In its hand lies the fate of the future; it alone possesses the ability to so transform the present foundations of society as to wipe out once and for all the oppression of the vast majority of the people by a small group of exploiters, to eradicate for all time the causes of the present plight of the Negro people.

Just as the fate of the Negro people is inextricably bound to that of the working class, the white workers cannot strike the fetters of wage slavery from their neck unless they strike the shackles from the Negro people. Neither the Negro masses nor the white workers can achieve real freedom unless they achieve an unbreakable unity in the fight against their immediate and common enemy—the white capitalists.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore calls upon the Negro masses, and especially the Negro workers, to denounce once and for all the slanders which Negro misleaders have heaped upon the white workers, to overcome the attitude of distrust toward the white workers, to realize that even if some of them have been corrupted by the fleshpots of capitalism and their own misleaders to uphold the persecution of the Negro people, they still remain as a class the inevitable friend and ally of the Negro masses.

At the same time the League of Struggle for Negro Rights calls upon the white workers to cut themselves loose decisively from the policy of their

ruling class towards the Negroes, to disavow once and for all the attitude of white superiority which has proven to be only another link in the chain which binds them to wage-slavery. Let them recall the words of that working class abolitionist who declared: "Down both with chattel slavery and wage slavery!" Let them batter down the jim-crow, lynch-support policies of the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor with the battering ram of that glorious tradition in the American labor movement which proclaims the solidarity of white and black labor!

Unless white labor wishes to be dragged down to the oppressed and degraded position of the Negro toilers, unless it wishes heaped upon itself also the thousand and one persecutions which plague labor with a black skin, unless it wishes to remain in perpetual wage bondage and misery, let white labor extend its arm of alliance and solidarity on every issue which faces it as well as the Negro people!

It devolves upon the white workers to cast to the winds the least stench of the slave market and the lynching post still clinging to them if they are to appear in their full grandeur as the makers of history and the molders of the future. Unless they do this, they cannot rightly claim the Negro people as their allies, they will be deprived of that powerful black arm in the struggle against the adversary.

The only way the white workers can break through the wall of mutual distrust that has been erected by three centuries of the oppression of Negroes in this country is to step forward as the

champions of the cause of Negro liberation. They must emblazon on the banner of labor the demands born in the struggle for Negro liberation.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights declares for the organization of Negro and white workers, farmers and professionals into joint labor unions, unemployed councils, farmers' leagues, cooperatives, fraternal and cultural societies, student and professional workers' leagues, etc.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights calls upon the Negro and white toilers to carry through a joint struggle for the realization of their every-day needs and demands. It calls upon the Negro and white toilers to engage in a joint struggle for all the demands raised in this program by conducting campaigns in the press, public meetings, circulation of petitions, mass demonstrations, meetings, parades—up to the point of open resistance against all encroachments upon the rights of the Negro people, by the organization of protest strikes in factories, schools, on the farms, mass boycotts, refusal to pay taxes and exorbitant rents and mass violation of Jim-Crow laws and practices.

The Soviet Union offers the shining example of the correctness of this program. There, nations and races who, under the old Czarist regime, suffered oppression equal to that of the Negroes of the United States, are now, under the new Soviet government of the workers and farmers, enjoying complete freedom, equality and the right of self-determination: there the workers and farmers of the varied nationalities have united in fraternal and

harmonious union in the work of building up a Socialist society.

The Negro problem in the United States is closely related to the problems of the Negro people and other peoples oppressed by imperialism throughout the world. The Negro people everywhere, whether as a minority in the U. S. A., South and Central America, or as a majority in Africa and in many of the islands of the West Indies, or whether they exist in the so-called independent states of Liberia and Haiti, are oppressed by imperialism. Thus a common bond of interest is established for the Negro people all over the world in the fight against their oppressors.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights declares that the Negro masses in the United States, by reason of their advantage of environment—living in the most highly industrialized capitalist country in the world—have a great responsibility in giving assistance to the Negro people in other countries in their fight against common oppressors. Therefore, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights is committed to uncompromising and continuous support to the liberation movement of the Negro masses throughout the world; for complete independence of Africa and the West Indies; for equal rights and the right of self-determination for the oppressed Negro national minorities in South and Central America and in Cuba.

In waging common and militant struggle for equal rights and against persecutions of the Negroes, as listed below, our united strength shall

grow from day to day until it welds us into a force powerful enough to bring to full fruition the ultimate aims expressed in this program.

IMMEDIATE PROGRAM OF THE LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

The Struggle for Equal Rights (Complete Economic, Social and Political Equality)

To obtain equal rights we must conduct a continuous fight against all forms of oppression suffered by the Negro people.

1. Against Jim-Crowism, and discrimination in all forms, and in every field, on jobs, in professions, public places, trains, boats, buses, all institutions, places of residence, etc.

2. A relentless fight to wipe out all forms of forced labor, chain gangs, forced work on roads and public works for payment of taxes, and all other hangovers from chattel slavery.

3. A constant daily fight for ordinary human and civil rights for Negroes in all parts of the country, for the actual enforcement of their rights as human beings.

4. A determined fight against the whole system of social segregation in which Negroes are set apart from the rest of the population as a despised and outlawed people.

5. A ruthless combatting of all ideas of "white supremacy" and "superiority" fostered by the white rulers to justify their enslavement of the Negro people.

To obtain these rights, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights calls upon the Negro people and white toilers to organize, and fight for the following vital and pressing needs of the Negro masses:

I. Struggle Against Lynching and All Forms of Terror, Violence and Abuse Against Negroes Whether by Officers of the Law, Organized Murder Gangs or Any Individual.

1. For the enforcement of the death penalty for lynchers.
2. For the outlawing and disbanding of the Ku Klux Klan and all other anti-Negro, terroristic organizations.
3. For the formation of self-defense organizations of Negroes and white toilers for open defense and resistance to lynching and terror.
4. For the enforcement of the right of Negroes, and their white supporters, to keep and bear arms in self-defense.
5. For immediate unconditional release of all victims of white ruling class frame-up.

II. Struggle for the Unqualified Right to Vote, to Elect Officials, to Hold Public Office and to Sit on All Juries.

1. For the immediate abolition of all restrictions of these rights, whether legalized by "grandfather" clause, poll or property tax, literacy test, exclusion from primaries, or by direct or indirect intimidation or pressure.

2. Redistricting for the abolishment of artificial political boundaries established to split up Negro territories and so nullify their majority voting power.

III. Active Support to the Struggles of the Negro Workers for Immediate Improvement of Their Living Conditions.

1. For complete equality of Negro wage workers with white workers in wages, hours of labor and working conditions.
2. For the actual enforcement of the right of Negroes to work at any job, in all trades, industries and professions.
3. For the admittance of Negroes to all Trade Unions on equal basis with white workers.
4. For the abolition of discrimination against Negroes in unemployment relief.
5. For unemployment and social insurance at the expense of government and employers, without discrimination against Negroes.

IV. Full and Active Support to the Struggles of the Negro Small Farmers, Renters and Sharecroppers.

1. For the abolition of all forms of debt slavery, peonage, landlord supervision of crops, overseeing, and the system of plantation stores.
2. For the right to sell crops independently, and against forced pooling of cotton and other crops.

3. For the abolition of oppressive taxes and rents, and the cancellation of all debts and mortgages of the small farmers.
4. For mass resistance to eviction from land, and against the seizure of tools and livestock for debts.
5. For immediate cash relief for the small farmers and tenants at the expense of the government, landlords and capitalists.

V. Housing and Living Conditions

To insure immediate relief of the Negro masses from frightful conditions of overcrowding, excessive rents, unsanitary living conditions with resulting high sickness and death rates:

1. Abolition of residential segregation, and the unrestricted freedom of Negroes to live wherever they choose.
2. For the enactment of federal legislation to make restrictive clauses in property deeds which limit sale or rental to a certain racial or national group, illegal. Mass disregard of such restrictive clauses.
3. For the abolition of the special high rentals in neighborhoods wholly or largely occupied by Negroes.
4. Mass resistance against evictions.
5. For mass boycott of proprietors who raise rents upon re-letting from white to Negro tenants, or who neglect the upkeep and maintenance of sanitary conditions of their property after renting to Negroes.

6. For adequate facilities in neighborhoods wholly or largely occupied by Negroes for health, recreation and culture. (The establishment of medical clinics, hospitals, playgrounds, parks, gymnasiums, baths, social centers, schools, libraries and places of amusement.)
7. For the tearing down of dilapidated and untenable houses, tenements, and shacks now inhabited by Negroes, and their replacement by modern sanitary apartments and houses at the expense of municipal, state and federal government.

VI. Education and Culture

In order to improve the cultural conditions of the Negro masses, to forward their fight against cultural backwardness and illiteracy, for a free and unrestricted development:

1. For enforcement of free, universal, compulsory education for all Negro children of school age, and unrestricted opportunity for Negro young people to secure secondary and higher education of their own choosing.
2. For the abolition of all forms of discrimination and segregation in education, and for the right of Negroes to attend and use, any and all public and private schools, libraries, museums and cultural centers in any part of the country, North, East, South or West.
3. For mass boycott of institutions withholding these privileges from Negroes.
4. For mass protest against and boycott of busi-

ness concerns, publications, radio broadcasts, theatres that use the Negro in caricature to degrade and defame.

5. For the building of modern primary and secondary schools in neighborhoods where Negroes reside, and in the rural districts of the South, with equal equipment, curricula, staff, and appropriations.
6. For the condemning of shacks and firetraps as school buildings and against overcrowding; part time sessions and bodily punishment.
7. For the adoption of text books and histories that render a true account of the Negro, especially his contribution to American life, and to discard those that foster the slave and white superiority psychology.
8. For the widest popularization of the revolutionary traditions of the Negro people of the United States, Africa, West Indies, South and Central America.

VII. Negro Professionals, Students, Artists, Writers, Clerks, Small Business People, Nurses, Etc.

1. Abolition of discrimination of Jim-Crowism against Negro nurses, internes, doctors and dentists; adequate representation on staffs of all public and private hospitals and clinics.
2. Abolition of all discrimination and Jim-Crowism in the civil service. Immediate discontinuance of the federal government requirements that photographs accompany applications for clerical positions.

3. For equal opportunities for all Negro chemists, pharmacists, engineers and skilled workers to organize in craft organizations and unions without discrimination or Jim-Crowism.
4. For Negro artists and writers to produce works of culture without obeying dictates of art galleries and publishers. No discrimination in exhibitions and publications.
5. For the right to do business without intimidation or violence wherever they choose; abolition of discrimination against small business people in rent and credit.

VIII. Negro Women and Children.

1. For complete social, economic and legal equality for Negro women.
2. For the right of Negro women to all jobs at equal pay.
3. For the organization of domestic workers to fight against long hours of work and low wages, for an eight hour day whether living on or off the job, and a minimum wage.
4. For the abolition of night work, against restriction of Negro women to dangerous and unhealthy jobs.
5. For unemployment and maternal insurance, (with leave of absence from work with full wages one month before and after child birth, with free medical care included.)
6. For the repeal of all laws prohibiting inter-marriage which legalize the fiction of Negro inferiority and render Negro women helpless and unprotected.

7. For the legalization of all offspring, with property rights.

IX. Negro Youth.

1. Abolition of all discrimination, Jim-Crowism against Negro youth.
2. Equal pay for equal work for Negro youth.
3. Limitation of hours of work on farms, in factories, in shops, etc.
4. Against night work and work at dangerous occupations for Negro youth under 21.
5. No forced labor in military training camps.
6. Vocational training for Negro youth between 14 and 16 with full pay and under trade supervision.
7. Abolition of compulsory military training in schools.
8. The right of Negro athletes to participate in all athletic games with white athletes, including rowing, swimming, inter-collegiate basketball, football, major league baseball, etc.; against Jim-Crow policies of the A. A. U. in swimming pools, etc.

X. Negro Soldiers (Regular Army, National Guard) and Sailors.

1. Abolition of all Jim-Crowism and discrimination of Negro service men in all branches of service—army, navy, marines, etc. Complete equality with whites in these respective branches of service.
2. For the right of Negroes to serve in all

branches of military service on an equal basis with whites—artillery, navy, marines, etc.

3. Right to enter and receive training in all military institutions.
4. Against the disarming and disbanding of Negro regular army regiments and their use as service or labor units.
5. No discrimination in the National Guards, no use of National Guard against the workers and Negro masses in strikes, demonstrations, etc.
6. Abolition of discrimination or Jim-Crowism against Negro veterans in the payment of bonus, compensation and hospitalization.
7. Freedom of fraternization between Negro and white soldiers.

XI. Effective Legal Protection for Negroes in All Fields of Occupation and in All Walks of Life.

1. Immediate repeal of all discriminatory laws.
2. The adoption by the U. S. Congress and the enforcement of the Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro people presented by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

XII. Freedom of Speech, Press and Assembly, the Right to Petition.

1. The right to openly advocate and conduct propaganda everywhere for the above rights, in public meetings, press and through all possible mediums.
2. The right of the Negro people to organize in the struggle for these rights.

Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro People

AGAINST DISCRIMINATION BY REASON OF NATIONALITY OR COLOR, OR OF SO-CALLED "RACE"

Presented by the "Free the Scottsboro Boys" Marchers to the President and Congress of the United States

Proposed by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights; Endorsed by the National Scottsboro Action Committee

WHEREAS, the thirteen million Negro people of the United States, and especially those who reside in the Black Belt of the South where they constitute a majority of the population, are denied the rights of citizenship and equality, and are deprived of their right to vote, to serve on all juries and to enjoy equal rights in courts of law, and are held on the land in peonage and debt slavery, and because of their lack of political rights are habitually framed-up, and are enslaved in penal servitude for trivial offenses or no offense at all in the chain gang system, and are otherwise subjected to intolerable discrimination and oppression;

Therefore, the following law is proposed:

1. In all states, territories or possessions of the United States and the District of Columbia, no person shall be deprived of the right to vote or intimi-

dated in an election or primary election or referendum by reason of color, nationality, race or ancestry; nor for non-payment of any tax, nor on grounds of educational or property disqualification.

2. No person shall be deprived of the right to serve on grand juries or petit juries or excluded from jury lists or panels for any of the above reasons nor by any device directly or indirectly to accomplish the same purpose.

3. No persons shall be excluded from any school or class, maintained either by public or private funds because of color, race, or nationality, nor by any device to accomplish the same purpose; nor shall there be any segregation or distinction made among students or among teachers of different color, race or nationality, nor any difference or segregation in accommodations.

4. No teacher shall be excluded from a position as teacher in any school, public or private, by reason of color, nationality or race, or for any reason devised to prevent the holding of teaching positions by teachers of one color, race or nationality in teaching pupils of another color, race or nationality.

5. No person shall be denied accommodation or be separated or segregated in any train, ship, motor vehicle, airship, trolley car or other public conveyance because of color, race or nationality; and no person shall be denied admission or equal service nor shall anyone be segregated in any inn, hotel, restaurant, cafe, theatre, music hall or other place of public resort because of color, race or nationality, whether the accommodations be equal or not.

6. No person shall be denied the right to own, possess, rent, occupy or otherwise enjoy any apartment, home, room or other living or business quarters because of color, race or nationality; and any apartment or rooming house proprietor or manager in any community in which residents or travellers of various colors, races or nationalities are to be found, shall be judged **prima facie** to be violating this law if it appears that persons of any given color, race or nationality are not regularly served on an equal basis in any such institution maintained by him; and it shall be unlawful to create or maintain any restrictions of neighborhoods or houses for purposes of distinction between colors, races or nationalities; and it shall be unlawful to require any person to pay a larger price or rental than is paid by persons of any other color, race or nationality.

7. No person shall be denied employment because of color, race or nationality; and it shall be a **prima facie** violation if any employer of 20 or more persons shall deny employment to persons of a given color, race or nationality, or shall segregate such persons or give them inferior kinds of employment; and it shall be unlawful to make any distinction in working conditions or character of employment in the amount of wages or salaries paid, on the basis of color, race or nationality.

8. No person shall be discriminated against in unemployment relief or social insurance or assistance due to any emergency or calamity of nature, flood, hurricanes, economic crisis or unemployment; nor shall there be any requirement of forced labor

by reason or **on account** of color, race or nationality.

9. No person shall be charged higher or additional fees, prices or rates for any kind of insurance on account of nationality, race or color.

10. No person shall be denied the right to receive instruction for, enter into or pursue any profession, service, trade or occupation; nor be discriminated against in the pursuit or practice of such activity, because of color, race or nationality.

11. No person shall be denied membership in any organization, whether social, political, economic, fraternal, insurance, religious, or cultural, or any trade union or any benefit association or other organization or any local, branch or any sub-division thereof because of color, race or nationality.

12. No person shall be deprived of the right of appointment to any office or position or the right to take any examination for any such office, or position or denied permanent appointment because of color, race or nationality.

13. No persons shall be excluded from or discriminated against or segregated in the armed forces of the United States, on land, at sea or in the air, or in any military schools **maintained for the training of officers or enlisted men for the several branches of service, nor shall any person be assigned to separate regiments, companies or squads, against his will, because of race, nationality and color.**

14. No person shall be denied treatment and accommodations or segregated in any hospital, clinic or other institution for treatment of ailments by

reason of color, race or nationality and it shall be unlawful to make any distinctions of nationality, race or color, **in admitting any person whether equal accommodations be furnished or not.** Nor shall any discrimination be made against the inclusion on the staff of any such and employment in any institution of any person because of nationality, race or color.

15. No person shall be forced to labor to pay a debt or obligation, or to remain on any job because of contract or agreement. It shall be unlawful for any private persons to employ convict labor or to have any control over convicts.

16. No person shall be deprived of the right to bear arms in self-defense or to keep such arms in his home or to use such arms by himself or in conjunction with others in defense of life by reason of nationality, color or race.

17. Any person who aids or participates in a lynching or other act of violence directed against a person wholly or partly because of supposed "inferiority" of race, color or nationality, or directed against a person because of alleged or suspected crimes associated in public tradition with supposed "inferiority" of race, nationality or color, shall be considered and adjudged guilty of a crime punishable by death.

18. Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of any of the sections of this title shall be guilty of a felony.

19. No state shall pass any law prohibiting any marriage because the parties thereto are of differ-

ent races, and all laws making such marriages criminal or illegal are hereby declared null, void, and of no effect. All couples living together in relations of man and wife, but whose relations are considered illegal because of difference of color, race or nationality, shall be deemed hereafter to be lawfully man and wife, and their children are legitimized and entitled to inherit their property heretofore acquired.

Draft By-Laws of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights

IN ACCORDANCE with the decision of the 1930 St. Louis convention this organization adopts the name of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

The purpose of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights is to organize and carry on the various forms of education and action necessary to support the principles set forth in its preamble to win a large following for these principles, to secure the enforcement of the proposals and demands listed in its program for the liberation of the doubly oppressed Negro peoples in the United States and to aid in every possible way the liberation struggles of the oppressed Negro peoples in all countries.

The L. S. N. R. is organized on a United Front basis. Its purpose is to unite all, especially the toiling section of the Negro and white population, who are honestly willing to take up the struggle for Negro liberation and secure the unity of the white and Negro masses for this struggle necessary for the freedom of both from national oppression and wage slavery in all forms. The L. S. N. R. shall publish a paper for national circulation.

I. Membership

The membership of the L. S. N. R. shall be constituted as follows:

1. Organizations affiliated to the L. S. N. R. either on a national, state or district or local scale which pay dues on a per capita basis.

2. L. S. N. R. branches organized on the individual dues-paying membership basis.

3. L. S. N. R. groups who are members of other organizations—union, fraternal, social, churches, etc. and who pay dues to the L. S. N. R. as individuals.

4. Sustaining members—those whose activity for one reason or another can consist only of moral and financial support.

II. National District and Local Directing Centers

The National Directing Center, as well as the district and local directing centers shall be composed of a delegated council elected at local, district and national conferences.

The National Council shall be the decisive general governing body between conferences. It shall elect from among its members a Secretary, who shall be the main executive officer, a President, a National Treasurer and such other officers as the N. C. may deem necessary on the basis of the task facing the organization. The N. C. shall also elect from among its members an executive committee of 25 to which the officers are responsible between meetings of the N. C. The majority must reside in the headquarters city.

III. Duties of Officers

The General Secretary shall direct the work of the organization between meetings of the Executive

Committee in cooperation with the President. The General Secretary shall be directly responsible for the editing and circulation of the official paper, **The Liberator**.

The President shall preside at meetings of the National Council and the Executive Committee. He shall represent the organization at public meetings and conferences when necessary and take an active part in the building of the L. S. N. R.

The National Treasurer shall receive and disburse the funds of the national organization under the supervision of the National Secretary and the President. He shall be bonded for the amount deemed necessary by the Executive Committee.

a. District and Local Officers

The officers of district and local Councils shall work as an organizing and directing leadership of the Branches in their territories in conformity with the program and the by-laws of the L. S. N. R. and under the direction of the National Council and the National Officers.

IV. District Conferences

District Conferences shall be called every three months or oftener if the necessity is believed to exist by the National Executive Committee. These conferences shall be composed of delegates from L. S. N. R. branches, delegates from affiliated organizations, delegates from L. S. N. R. groups whose members belong to other organizations, and fraternal delegates from unaffiliated organizations.

Each of the branches and affiliated organizations is entitled to one delegate for every 100 dues-paying members.

No limit shall be placed on fraternal delegates. They shall have full voice but no vote.

a. Local Conferences

Local Conferences shall be held by decision of the Local Councils.

V. National Conferences

National Conferences shall be held at least once a year or oftener if the National Council so decides.

Delegates to the National Conferences shall be elected directly by L. S. N. R. branches in good standing on the basis of one delegate plus an additional delegate for every 50 members in good standing; from local conferences on the basis of two delegates from each 500 members of affiliated organizations L. S. N. R. groups represented at the local conference.

The Local Councils

The Local Councils shall be the main united front organizations for the leadership of the work and struggle for the L. S. N. R. program of immediate and general demands. They shall be the decisive instruments of the L. S. N. R. and the main task of the Branches is to extend their united front character by continuous work in the mass organizations—union, fraternal, cultural, etc.—for affiliation to the Local Councils and to win their membership

for militant support of the campaigns organized and led by the Local Councils.

The task of preparing the Local and District Conferences on the various issues raised in connection with the program, on the very broadest basis, by the Branches, is a central part of their work.

The relations between the Local Councils, and the affiliated and unaffiliated organizations, and the Branches must be of a close fraternal character.

The Local Councils must establish their authority by brotherly advice and cooperation, by the leadership of its officers in the struggles and secure firm voluntary discipline of all members.

VI. L. S. N. R. Branches

Seven or more persons may organize a branch and apply for a charter. These members shall be known as charter members and their names shall appear, if desired, on the charter issued to the branch on the payment of one dollar (\$1) as the charter fee to the General Secretary.

There shall be no limit to the number of members of a given branch except that set by the General Secretary and the Executive Committee in accordance with the needs of the L. S. N. R.

The chief duty of a branch and its members is to secure more members and spread the influence of the L. S. N. R., by organizing mass struggles for Negro Rights.

In accord with the principle of giving specific duties to as many members as possible and thereby creating a sense of responsibility and developing leader-

ship from the ranks, each council and branch shall elect the following officers, except in cases where the membership of the branch remains at the minimum charter requirements:

President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, Recording Secretary, **Liberator** Agent, Defense Director, Educational Director and Cultural Director, Youth Director. Small branches may combine two or more of these offices if necessary.

The Executive Committee of the local Councils and branches shall be composed of the elected officers. One or more members may be added to the executive committee if the branch decides this is necessary to carry on its work more effectively. Elections shall be held twice a year.

VII. Removal of Officers

All officers may be removed by majority vote of the committee to which they belong subject to majority vote of the membership and review by the National Executive Committee and National Council.

VIII. Expulsion and Suspension of Members

Members may be suspended or expelled by majority vote of the leading committees, subject to majority vote of the branch and review by the higher organizations, for conduct which reflects discredit on the organization, violations of the principles of the preamble and program and for arbitrary or continued refusal or neglect to perform the duties of members.

IX. Work of Branch Officers

Subject to change made necessary by the welfare of the organization by decision of the Executive Committee, the duties of officers shall be generally as follows:

The President shall act as chief organizer, shall direct the work of building the branch, shall preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and shall be a member of all committees by virtue of his office.

The Vice-President shall assist the President in the performance of his duties and shall act in the absence of the President.

The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect dues, receive all money from other sources, have charge of financial campaigns subject to the supervision of the Executive Committee and keep the accounts of the branch, shall pay out all sums authorized by the Executive Committee, or by the President acting for the Executive Committee.

The Recording Secretary shall keep the records of all meetings, read them on request to subsequent meetings and carry on all necessary correspondence.

The **Liberator** agent shall be charged directly with sale, circulation and financing of the official paper of the organization. He shall work closely with the Educational Director, the Cultural Director and the Youth Director.

The Defense Director shall be in charge of organizing necessary protection for mass meetings, conferences, demonstrations, etc., from gangsters,

lynchers, and other enemies of the organization. He shall work closely with the Youth Director and the Educational Director and under the direct supervision of the Executive Committee.

The Educational Director shall organize the educational work in the branch and in the neighborhood and industries in which the branch carries on its activities. He shall be responsible for the organization of lectures, debates, classes, study circles, forums, and the sale and distribution of literature dealing with the program of the L. S. N. R. He shall be responsible for the contact with the press, for issuing news stories and articles dealing with local issues and the activities of the branch. He shall see that the *Liberator* is supplied with all necessary material dealing with the work of the branch.

The Cultural Director shall have charge of such cultural work as the organization of choruses, theatrical groups, pageants, orchestras, by the members of the branch and sympathizers. His efforts shall be to promote Negro culture of working class origin.

a. Youth Director

The Youth Director shall be in charge of work among young people, Negro and white, and be responsible for bringing forward the L. S. N. R. program for young people of both sexes. The Youth Director shall be responsible for the organization of sports—sport clubs, baseball teams, basketball teams, football teams, gymnasium clubs where this

is possible, and all sport activities in general. The Youth Director shall be responsible for the recruiting of young people into the organization.

The Youth Director shall be given special cooperation by the Executive Committee to the end that the necessary autonomy in the activities of the branch is accorded the young members and sympathizers.

The branch may elect committees to aid each officer in his work. The Executive Committee shall act as an auditing committee and render a detailed financial report at least every three months, to be published in the *Liberator*.

X. Branch Meetings

Branch meetings shall be held at such intervals as the majority of the membership may decide to hold them, but in no case at longer intervals than once per month.

a. Each branch meeting shall be divided into two periods—business meeting and educational meeting.

b. Alternate meetings of the branches shall prepare their meetings as social gatherings immediately after the disposal of the routine business. Non-members shall be invited to attend.

The Educational Director, the Cultural Director and the Youth Director shall be jointly responsible for the social program of these meetings.

XI. Dues and Finances

Each branch shall make a monthly financial report to the National Secretary. The report shall

state the number of members in good standing and forward the stated amount due the National Council together with such other sums as have been collected in financial campaigns sponsored by the National Council or Executive Committee.

The dues-payments are as follows:

Organizations affiliating nationally shall pay a minimum of \$5.00 a year to the National Council. Organizations affiliating to local councils shall pay a minimum of \$1.00 per year to the local councils.

Fifty cents of this sum goes to the National Council and fifty cents is retained by the Local Council.

Branches shall pay a charter fee of one dollar to the National Council. The branch initiation fee shall be 10 cents for applicants who are working—5 cents for applicants who are unemployed.

50 per cent of each initiation fee remains in the Branch. 15 per cent is kept by the Local Council. 35 per cent goes to the National Council.

Monthly dues for branch members shall be 20 cents for employed members and 5 cents for unemployed members.

One-half of the dues-payments shall remain with the Branch. Of the remainder the Local Council keeps 15 per cent and forwards 35 per cent to the National Council.

L. S. N. R. groups in other organizations shall follow the same method of dues-payments and payments to the Local Council and National Council as the branches.

XII. District Organizations and Finances

Where District Councils are organized the method of finance shall be arranged according to the above general plan by the conference which establishes the District Council.

XIII. Special Organization and Finance

To pay the expense of organization work in building branches and groups, where this is done directly by organizers of the National Council, the initiation fees shall go directly to the National Council.

The National Council, the Executive Committee and its officers may organize special financial campaigns whenever this is deemed necessary for carrying out special work, for the support of the *Liberator*, etc. In such cases no sums are to be deducted by the branches or groups for their local work except by special decision of the Executive Committee.

The Guiding Principle

All questions regarding organization, duties of officers and members, etc. not specifically described in the by-laws are to be decided in the interest of strengthening the L. S. N. R., extending its influence and developing initiative and responsibility among the rank and file members.

NATIONAL COUNCIL

of the

LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

President Langston Hughes

Vice-Presidents

James W. Ford	Robert Minor
Mrs. Jessica Henderson	Benjamin Davis, Jr.
William L. Patterson	Hose Hart

General Secretary	Richard B. Moore
Assistant Secretary	Herman MacKawain
Financial Secretary	Esther Anderson
Recording Secretary	Bernice Da Costa
Treasurer	Dr. Reuben S. Young
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Director of Defense Activities	Harold Williams
Director of Bureau—International Relations	Charles Alexander
Director of Young People's Activities	Leonard Patterson
Director of Activities Among Women	Williana Burroughs
Liberator Staff	Eugene Gordon
	Maude White

Director of Research Tom Truesdale

Steve Kingston	Mrs. Mary Craik Speed
Henry Shepard	Bonita Williams
Harry Haywood	Hanou Chan
Dr. Arnold Donawa	James Allen
James Moore	Cyril Briggs
Rabbi Ben Goldstein	William Fitzgerald

George Maddox

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS

New York

Eleanor Henderson	Agricultural Workers' Union
Joseph Brodsky	International Workers Order
Clarence Hathaway	Daily Worker
Myra Page	Writer
William Z. Foster	Trade Union Unity League

Robert Dunn	Labor Research Association
Irving Potash	Needle Trades
Henry Shepard	Trade Union Unity Council of Greater New York
Louis Weinstock	American Federation of Labor
Joseph Moore	Mechanics' Association of Harlem
B. D. Amis	Communist Party
Israel Amter	National Committee Unemployed Councils
Peter Uffre	Tobacco Workers of Harlem
William Dunne	Trade Union Unity League
Gladys Stoner	Nat'l Student Comm. on Negro Student Problems
Ben Goldstein	Nat'l Comm. for Defense of Political Prisoners
Earl Browder	Communist Party
Ruth Ruben	National Student League
Samuel Patterson	Caribbean Union
Steve Kingston	L. S. N. R.
Harry Haywood	Communist Party
Bill Lawrence	International Labor Defense
Leonard Patterson	Young Communist League
Louis Coleman	International Labor Defense
J. Adler	International Workers Order
James Toney	L. S. N. R.
Gil Green	Young Communist League
William Burdell	L. S. N. R.

Southern Section

Al Murphy, <i>Sharecroppers' Union</i>	Alabama
Mrs. Mary Craik Speed	Montgomery, Ala.
Rev. J. A. Morten, <i>Angelo Herndon Defense</i>	Alabama
Jane Speed, <i>International Labor Defense</i>	Birmingham, Ala.
Angelo Herndon	Fulton Tower Prison, Ga.
Mrs. Ada Wright, <i>Scottsboro Mother</i>	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Mrs. Janie Patterson, <i>Scottsboro Mother</i>	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Attorney Pierson	Durham, N. C.
Anna Williams, <i>Communist Party</i>	Charlotte, N. C.
Bernard Ades, <i>International Labor Defense</i>	Baltimore, Md.
Gough McDaniels, <i>High School Teacher</i>	Baltimore, Md.
Robert Hall, <i>National Farmers' Action Comm.</i> , Washington, D. C.	
Macey, <i>New Orleans Railroad Workers</i>	New Orleans, La.
Manny Jackson, <i>Savannah Longshoreman</i>	Savannah, Ga.

Chicago

Herbert Newton	Communist Party
Claude Lightfoot	L. S. N. R.

Pennsylvania

Dr. Patterson, *Physician* Pittsburgh, Pa.
Tom Meyerscoff, *National Miners' Union* Pittsburgh, Pa.
Henry Wickman, *Marine Workers* Philadelphia, Pa.
Ben Carruthers, *Communist Party* Pittsburgh, Pa.

Detroit

Joe Billups L. S. N. R.

Minnesota

Alfred Tiala, *Nat. Sec., United Farmers' League*, Minneapolis, Minn.
New England
Mrs. Cravath Simpson, *Federation Women's Clubs* ... Boston, Mass.
Ann Burlak, *National Textile Union*

California

Tom Mooney San Quentin, Calif.
Lauren Miller, *Journalist* Los Angeles, Calif.
Matt Crawford, *San Francisco National Scottsboro Action Comm.*

Buffalo

Manning Johnson Communist Party

Missouri

A. W. Berry, *Communist Party* Kansas City, Mo.
Carrie Smith, *Nut Pickers' Union* St. Louis, Mo.

Cleveland

Arthur Murphy Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union

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